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PROFESSOR GIDDINGS'S THEORY OF HISTORY AS APPLIED TO THE ANCIENT WORLD

It is the purpose of this paper to survey the ancient world in the light of the theory of history held by Professor Franklin H. Giddings¹, a theory set forth by him in his *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, Chapter V, pages 66-93 (The Macmillan Company, 1922. Pp. vii + 308). For convenience of presentation, Professor James H. Breasted's volume, *Ancient Times, A History of the Early World* (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1916; see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 10.199-200) has been selected as a basis of study. The attempt has been made to defend Professor Giddings's theory by evidences from the diversity of the civilizations which Dr. Breasted pictures.

For the sake of clearness, it will be well to summarize Professor Giddings's theory in his own words (91-92):

... history is human behavior. . . .

In part the historic behavior of men moving on together by thousands and by millions has been blindly instinctive. In part it has been a conscious but errant experimentation. Also in part (and increasingly) it has been an attempted and often a successful carrying out of premeditated policies. These have been made by no one man, and for this reason, rather than for any "deterministic" reason, the great-man theory of history breaks down. They have arisen as visions in the minds of the men of vision and have been taken over, with or without acknowledgment, by men of action. To convert them into collective behavior the men of action have "interested" and enlisted effective members of groups, classes, factions, parties, minorities and majorities, promising them substantial advantages. . . .

As participants in the behavior that is history the instinctive multitudes, the errant experimenters, the clear-eyed and far-seeing protagonists of premeditated policies have had in common one trait besides their elemental human nature; or has it veritably been their nature itself? Either way, they have been of one inclusive kind. *All have been adventurers.* All have felt an urge and responded to it. They have dared and gone forth. They have listened to pipings and followed lures. They have dug for pots of gold; climbed purple mountains. . . .

History, then, is adventure, and the urge to adventure is the cause of history. This proposition is the kernel of my theory.

Keeping these propositions in mind, let us ask ourselves, What are the unique, the diverse features of the civilizations that Professor Breasted pictures, and how far can they be explained by Professor Giddings's theory?

It is unnecessary to say of a book so well known that Professor Breasted's work is particularly free from theoretical bias of any kind. He has presented in an impartial manner the economic, political, military, and cultural forces that operated in ancient times. If there

is any preference shown, it is for the geographical or environmental explanation of history, although too much importance should not be given to such statements as those in §§ 36, 69, 135, 138, 144, 424, 425. Nor has the author's special interest in Egypt lead him to overemphasize the Nile civilization as he has done in other volumes². To the present purpose, therefore, the book is admirably adapted.

In ancient Egyptian civilization, there are evident certain outstanding features. The first is agricultural, springing from the character of the Nile Valley, with its annual inundation, which conditioned every aspect of daily life, and gave rise to early government, taxes, writing, irrigation projects, and religious beliefs. The second is religious, a view of life after death which resulted not only in a peculiar method of preserving the body itself, but also in a special development of painting, sculpture, and architecture. Such massive monuments as the mastaba, the pyramid, and the mortuary temple involved also great wealth, a supply of servile labor, and the support of a priesthood. With regard to this civilization, Professor Breasted fails to make the point indicated both by Francis S. Marvin, *The Living Past*, 30-31 (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1913), and by John L. Myres, *The Dawn of History*, 82 (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1911), that the desert surroundings of the Nile Valley so isolated the inhabitants that they were able to maintain a development along unique lines for an extended period. The greater part of this development must, it seems to me, be frankly attributed to geographical influences. Even the dominating belief in the hereafter is connected with conditions of soil and climate by Professor Breasted in his volume, *The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, 49 (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1912).

Professor Giddings, in discussing the geographical theory of history, tells us (89) that

... So long . . . as physical environment has remained static nothing has happened. Only when environmental change has created a circumstantial pressure of calamities, hardships, contacts, conflicts and rivalries, has there been collective human action and with it integrations, differentiations, cultural progress and social evolution.

Yet a great deal did happen in Egypt within an environment that was on the whole static. Professor Giddings himself (78) reconstructs that stage of Egyptian history which resulted in a united Egypt. Some "urge to adventure" may have prompted Menes to

¹In J. H. Robinson and J. H. Breasted, *Outlines of European History*, Part I (Ginn and Company, New York, 1914), 37 pages out of 313 are given to Egyptian history. In Robinson and Breasted, *History of Europe, Ancient and Medieval* (Ginn and Company, New York, 1920), 24 pages out of 288 are devoted to the same theme.

²Professor Giddings is Professor of Sociology and the History of Civilization, at Columbia University.

enlist the military and religious groups in the service of a powerful monarchy. Later, the imperial ambitions of Thutmose III, Seti I, or Rameses II were satisfied, as a wealth producing environment afforded the means to conduct foreign enterprises. But not all the adventurers turned their attention to political organization. Egyptian architecture owes its rise to Imhotep, who was able to revolutionize building-methods by the use of stone instead of brick. Ikhnaton saw in the all-pervading sun the single true divinity—a remarkable, if not a permanent, advance toward monotheism. A succession of feudal barons and pharaohs inaugurated better social ideals, patronage of literature, and practical betterment of government administration and irrigation projects. All these men, excepting Ikhnaton, secured a following, and brought about a variety of development within a unity of geographical environment. There is no inconsistency here, it seems to me, between the geographical theory of history and the special theory in which we are interested. Distinctive features arise within a particular area of geographical characterization to which they owe their origin and their limitations, but they might never have risen had not some individual, responding to the environmental stimulus, transformed his individual response into collective behavior.

There is, however, an interpretation of the theory of geographical influence offered by Professor Teggart¹ to which Professor Giddings's theory may more readily be related. This is that political organizations have their origin in small areas that are termini of routes of travel, points of pressure, exposed situations. This involves a movement of peoples and consequently what Professor Giddings (89, 90) has called "environmental change", creating "a circumstantial pressure of calamities, hardships, contacts, conflicts and rivalries". With these two points of view in mind, I should like to examine Professor Breasted's survey (Chapters IV-VI, pages 100-196) of the civilization of the Tigro-Euphrates Valley and its extension in the "Fertile Crescent".²

There is, of course, a certain similarity between the Nile civilization and the Tigro-Euphrates civilization, in that they were both riparian and agricultural. But Professor Breasted's treatment of the latter area as part of a larger Fertile Crescent introduces us to a new and very different world. Here the shifting of populations from desert and mountain boundaries to the fertile area produced an age-long conflict. Here arose a series of monarchies and empires from the days of the Stone Age Sumerians, through Akkadian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Chaldean, and Persian rule, down to the closing scenes of the Roman Empire, when the Mohammedans were left in possession of that coveted district. If geographical environment ever created a point of pressure and an exposed situation, it has done

so here. And if ever men of action felt the urge to adventure, they have done so in the Fertile Crescent. The first contact of the Semitic invader with the Sumerian inhabitants gave to Sargon I the opportunity to take over bodily the culture of the Euphrates Valley, already in an advanced stage, and to shape a strong political organization. Hammurapi, Sargon's equal in political sagacity, added commercial enterprise and more particularly legal insight. Soon, fresh invaders developed, under Sargon II, and Sennacherib, the militaristic empire of the Assyrians, the most cruel and oppressive in history. Not only in the Assyrian period, but also in the succeeding Chaldean and Persian Empires, the army was the agent through which such men as Assurbanipal and Nebuchadrezzar, Cyrus and Darius worked out their "premeditated policies".

As has been intimated, the Fertile Crescent afforded a highway for the trader as well as the soldier—a fact which must be included in any account of its characteristic features. From this part of the world came weights and measures, numerals, business methods, records of commercial transactions, banks, money, and loans. Aramean commerce, in particular, dominated the entire Fertile Crescent. It would be interesting to know more names like that of Hammurapi, one, doubtless, among many, of men whose commercial foresight, using the environmental advantage, created policies which produced wealth and prosperity.

On the cultural side the inhabitants of the Tigro-Euphrates Valley originated no distinctive features in literature and art. Their art was, on the whole, borrowed; their written records were largely commercial. An interesting development, however, took place, in the study of astrology, leading to that of astronomy. Semitic herdsmen and shepherds of the desert had been watching the stars for generations before their entrance into the more favorable pastures of the Tigro-Euphrates Valley. Professor Breasted, it seems to me, does not make this point sufficiently clear when he discusses the religion of the nomads (§ 138); he introduces the subject as an independent feature of Chaldean civilization (§§ 238-239). Environment played its part here, of course, but there must have been some other stimulus, for the Egyptians had just as great an opportunity to develop this science. Perhaps the necessity for measurements of time provided the urge. Perhaps man's dependence upon the skies for agricultural prosperity and the great impression made by the regularity of movement of the heavenly bodies caused man to believe that his future, in common with that of all creation, was controlled by the stars³. Dr. Breasted at least makes astrology antecedent to astronomy. There was, moreover, after the introduction of Persian religious ideas, a merging of the Magi with the Chaldean priests, as the application of this name to the 'Wise Men from the East' testifies⁴. Thus from desert, valley, and mountain sources was built up a great interest comparable

¹Frederick J. Teggart, *Processes of History*, Chapter II (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1918).

²By the Fertile Crescent Professor Breasted means "an irregular region roughly included within the circuit of waters marked out by the Caspian and Black seas on the north, by the Mediterranean and Red seas on the west, and by the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf on the south. It is . . . a fertile crescent having the mountains on one side and the desert on the other" (100).

³See Morris Jastrow, *Encyclopedia Britannica*¹¹, s. v. Astrology.

⁴See also Franz Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra*, 9-10 (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, 1910).

perhaps to that of the Egyptian in the after life. Whatever the particular method of its origin, its results loomed large in Eastern civilization, as innumerable evidences in everyday life, in classical literature, and the oriental religious cults testify⁷.

No account of the Fertile Crescent would be complete without mention of the Hebrews (Breasted, Chapter VII, pages 197-220). Palestine, a buffer state between the two great civilizations we have been considering, was pressed both on the north and on the south by all kinds of "calamities, hardships, contacts, conflicts and rivalries". Within her borders, also, political, religious, and social struggle was not lacking. Out of the vicissitudes, monotheism was evolved. In connection with them arose a matchless religious literature. Professor Breasted does full justice to the great Hebrew leaders. Consequently, this section of his book relates itself admirably to Professor Giddings's theory, for each step in the path toward the two great Hebrew achievements is connected with some outstanding figure, able, for the most part, to carry his people with him.

Before passing to the early Mediterranean world, we may find it interesting to glance, as Professor Breasted does (§§ 351-360), at the Hittite power. It is a valuable feature of his book that the best available material on this subject has been assembled by its author. With our present incomplete knowledge, however, it is impossible to say just why or how the Hittites arrived at the point where we find them. Significant archaeological work at Carchemish and at Sardis, interrupted by the Great War, may clear up debatable points, and further light will be shed when the Hittite hieroglyphics are finally deciphered. Certain monuments definitely attributed by European archaeologists to the Hittites (e. g. by Mr. David G. Hogarth, of Oxford) are regarded by some American students as Lydian⁸. Even if the Lydians prove to be formidable rivals of the 'Khatti' in the minds of archaeologists, there is enough that is definitely Hittite to produce the impression of an intensely materialistic and commercial civilization. The Hittites were miners and traders carrying their iron to other lands and transporting oriental products from the Tigro-Euphrates Valley to the Aegean harbors. When the names and the achievements of Hittite leaders become matters of common knowledge, we may expect to find them seizing upon the natural resources of Asia Minor itself, and taking advantage of their intermediate position between Greece and the East to become carriers of oriental culture.

No contrast could be greater than that between the Hittites and the Cretans; yet in certain respects their mission in antiquity was similar. As the Hittites were the link between the Tigro-Euphrates Valley and Greece, so the Cretans (Breasted, §§ 335-346) were the link between Egypt and Greece. Both were commercial peoples. Professor Breasted is of the opinion

that the Cretan sea power has been much exaggerated (§ 338, page 230, note 1), but we know that a flourishing trade was maintained by their commercial fleets. Whatever an acquaintance with the Orient may have suggested to the Hittites, the reaction of Crete to Egyptian ships, architecture, sculpture, painting, and industrial arts was definite and distinctive. Herein lies the contrast. For, while the Hittites borrowed from their neighbors certain characteristics of architecture and sculpture, these degenerated under their treatment. But the Cretans imparted to Egyptian models a new life and grace, adding to them original and striking beauty. So there grew up an independent and naturalistic art, the forerunner of that which the Greek world was later to produce. This gift of art and this sea-borne commerce made Crete unique. For success in either field, her sea-kings and her artists must have felt the compulsion to venture into an unknown sphere. The complete domination of Cretan life by such activities indicates a very general possession of the social heritage which reminds us of Greece. It also suggests that the new freedom of expression in which all men shared could not have been produced by an absolute military or religious agency. It must have sprung from the encouragement of initiative. Here is a more subtle method of enlisting support and a new type of leadership foreign to the Oriental world. Perhaps it was not altogether a myth that attributed to Minos, King of Crete, such conspicuous justice that he was selected by the gods to be a judge in the land of the shades.

So far as the Greek world is concerned, a world to which Crete is only the portal, one can hardly take exception to Professor Giddings's theory. The evolution of free citizenship and democracy, the high level of artistic, literary, and all other forms of cultural achievement are associated with the names of great men who belong not only to Greece but to the world. It is difficult to explain the work of such giants as Homer, Pericles, or Socrates on the basis of a geographical theory of history. It may be more profitable, therefore, to trace, from Professor Giddings's point of view, the progress of Greece along the lines just indicated.

Dr. Breasted's book is somewhat inadequate in its treatment of Greek political phenomena, a lack due no doubt to the necessity for condensation. For instance, the changes brought about in Athens, between 621 and 500 B. C., by Draco, Solon, Pisistratus, and Cleisthenes receive a scant four pages (§§ 467-477, pages 303-307). Again, the triumph of popular power at the beginning of Pericles's influence, together with a description of the Athenian government at that period, covers something less than three pages (§§ 528-531, pages 341-344). The services of Aristides are dismissed in eleven lines (§ 524). To the Achaean League, an experiment in federation, and, as such, the last stage in democratic development, is given only one brief paragraph (§ 725), in which the Aetolian League is also mentioned. Granting that democracy in Greece proved a failure in the end, we must still say that it was no slight accomplishment for the Athenians to create the free citizen and

⁷See Franz Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, Chapter VII (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, 1911).

⁸A statement to that effect was made by Professor David M. Robinson at the meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, in April, 1921.

the democratic City-State against a background of oriental despotism. All the more was it remarkable, because the faces of the Spartans, a group comprising so large and so important an element in Greece, were firmly set in the opposite direction. Here, as in other volumes (named above), Professor Breasted gives scant attention to the development of Spartan political ideals. Incidentally, this makes it hard to understand, wholly on the basis of commercial rivalry (§ 541), Athenian-Spartan hostility leading up to the Peloponnesian War.

But let us return to our inquiry. What were the conditions which afforded the Greeks an opportunity to evolve democratic ideals? Isolation of districts by mountain barriers gave the early City-States a chance to work out their policies undisturbed, although that isolation was in many cases counterbalanced by marine communication. However, the development along local rather than national lines cannot be explained wholly by reference to the geographical conditions. The clue is given by the examination of Athenian progress in selfgovernment. The earliest tribes that settled in Attica had their chiefs and petty kings. But the kingship did not last, because agricultural and commercial prosperity created a group of wealthy nobles more powerful than the king himself. The solidarity of this class, working through ambitious leaders, overcame king, council, and assembly, and an oppressed class appeared that was without political rights. Enlisting the support of the non-voting inhabitants, and promising them substantial rewards of political privileges, the Tyrants entered the scene. So, through Solon, Pisistratus, and Clisthenes, the cause of democracy was advanced. By similar methods, Pericles maintained his personal supremacy in Athens for thirty years.

These facts would suffice to support Professor Giddings's theory. But evidence even more convincing is supplied by those great antagonists, Demosthenes and Philip. They both saw the possibilities of the future. Both strove to enlist that support which would make their policies effective. Demosthenes failed and Greek democracy disappeared. Philip succeeded and his vision of a mighty despotism was realized by Alexander.

From another point of view, democracy was only one phase of that supremacy of intellect and reason among the Greeks which flowered so conspicuously in their literature and in their art. After all, Professor Breasted is probably justified in placing his emphasis here rather than on the political aspect. From the appearance of the 'Seven Wise Men' of the sixth century, through the long series of poets, philosophers, dramatists, orators, historians, and scientists, he surveys the literary figures of the Hellenic and Hellenistic periods. Artists, sculptors, and architects take their places with the literary leaders of the race. The importance of the Hellenistic period, although treated in considerable detail, is not overestimated (pages 453-483). Students of Greek culture are apt to exalt the Hellenic types so highly that they forget it was rather the Hellenistic world with which Rome was acquainted,

and the Hellenistic standards of Greek endeavor which she conserved for European civilization.

How shall we account for Greek literature and Greek art? For one thing, they indicate encouragement of initiative, freedom of expression, and a generous appreciation on the part of a whole people. This point has already been made in connection with Cretan culture. Men like Pisistratus and Pericles in Athens, or like the Attalids in Pergamum, made it a policy to increase the beauty and the fame of their cities, and, incidentally, to reflect greatness upon themselves. Both patron and artist benefited thereby. Furthermore, the great religious festivals of the Greeks opened the way for a Pindar or a Sophocles to create his immortal works. To a certain extent, therefore, the external situation provided the stimulus to artistic and literary expression. We have still to explain the inner compulsion. It is a little too much to assume with the supporters of the geographical theory that natural surroundings of surpassing beauty resulted in a desire to create beauty, or that a favorable climate and moderate scale of natural phenomena tempted the ancient Greeks to explore the secrets of the universe⁹. If so, why are not the modern Greeks their equals in these fields? There must have been some innate superiority in a relatively large number of representatives of the Greek race which made them potential adventurers in Professor Giddings's sense of the word. So far as sculpture, architecture, and painting are concerned, such men, looking upon oriental models, beheld a vision of the perfect forms which these merely prefigured. So far as history, drama, poetry, and philosophy are concerned, such men, looking upon life itself, interpreted it, not in terms of tradition, but in terms of fidelity to truth.

By way of contrast to the unique place held by Greece in the ancient world, Professor Breasted (§ 794) emphasizes the Roman attainment in these words: "<The Roman> was fitted for great achievements in political and legal organization, but not for new and original developments in religion, art, literature, or discoveries in science". Again (§ 1157), he says, "Another great achievement of Rome was the universal spread of that international civilization brought forth by Greece under contact with the Orient". He might have added that this latter service was incidental to Rome's political expansion. It can be mentioned only in passing, for the chief emphasis must be placed upon the contribution made by Rome to the development of law and government. In spite of his recognition of Rome's administrative power, the author devotes less than seven pages to his description of Roman government under the Republic (§§ 796-811, pages 504-511)¹⁰. Moreover, he tells us very little as to how the Romans attained the results he describes.

Brief though the description is, there are one or two statements which confirm Professor Giddings's theory. Dr. Breasted thinks (§ 796) that, after the expulsion of the kings, the patricians by compromise with the people agreed that two of their number should be

⁹So Willis M. West, *The Ancient World*, Part I, pages 99-100 (Revised Edition, Allyn and Bacon, Boston, 1913).

¹⁰The share of Rome in the whole volume is 231 pages (484-715).

elected as heads of the State. He explains (§ 797) the origin of the tribunate as a concession to the people by the patricians in return for military support¹¹. The Twelve Tables, the Comitia Centuriata, and the Comitia Tributa, not discussed by Professor Breasted, may be accounted for in a similar way. Professor Pelham suggests that the Etruscan kings, favoring a military class instead of one of Roman birth, organized the Comitia Centuriata to give prominence to their military supporters rather than to the old Roman assembly of curias¹². This is highly consistent with Dr. Breasted's picture of the Etruscan rulers, in whose numbers he includes those traditional kings who are usually considered native Romans (§ 785). Successful attacks against the consular and patrician authority, resulting in the earliest code of laws, and in the establishment of the Comitia Tributa in full political equality, are described by Pelham¹³. He suggests that the numbers and the social importance of the plebeians had increased to such an extent that their group was sufficiently effective to secure the demands of their leaders. We have, in the above, enough evidence, I think, to support Professor Giddings's theory in connection with the development of Roman Republican forms. The same phenomenon took place when the local rule was expanded to include all Italy, and was based on the exchange of political privilege, more or less complete, for military service. In this way, Rome, through the sagacity of her rulers, became mistress of Italy. In this way she secured the citizen army which made possible the conquest of the Mediterranean area.

Leaving the question of provincial administration under the Republic for later consideration, we must turn our attention to the century of political struggle extending from the reforms of the Gracchi to the accession of Augustus Caesar. During this period, which found Rome a Republic and left her an Empire, one man of action after another swayed the fortunes of his countrymen. Advocacy of an agrarian policy, as in the case of the Gracchi, salvation of the State from the Gallic peril or a popular program, as in the case of Marius, or adhesion to senatorial aims, as in the case of Sulla, gave a solid body of support whereby men sought to realize their individual aims. Among others, Cicero spoke for the middle class. Pompey turned from the senatorial to the popular cause as expediency suggested. Julius Caesar, the most deliberate of them all, in his ambition to wield a one-man power, included in his designs the conquest of a vast and only partially civilized district in order to secure the support necessary for a perpetual dictatorship. Such men made history. But not even their strength of will could, by itself, have shaped events. It was the weakness of the Republican government which permitted the abuse of proconsular power. As Professor Breasted expresses it (§ 912), "These men of self-interest, who had held the supreme power in a province, were a menace to the republic, for they had tasted the power of kings with-

out the restraints of Roman law and Roman republican institutions to hamper them".

In spite of a native genius for government, the Romans failed to achieve democracy or to invent representative forms which might have solved the problem of a Republican rule beyond the seas. Certain advances, however, were made by them in the century of civil strife, notably the extension of the franchise after the Social War, and the popular reforms of Julius Caesar. If the period was, on the whole, one of political retrogression in Italy, conditions were even more distressing in the provinces. It was demonstrated beyond all question that a City-State was unfitted to rule a territory of imperial proportions. So great a task required, for its accomplishment, the genius of an Augustus, working through the medium of imperial authority. The conception of Augustus, of a dual control exercised by Senate and Emperor, indicates his desire to preserve as far as possible Republican forms, but his success in the provinces depended upon a direct personal supervision which, although absolute, required justice and fair dealing on the part of subordinate officials. The provincials, heretofore sacrificed to the selfishness of the proconsul or the praetor, now formed a mighty host of well-governed supporters of the great reconstruction policy of Augustus.

If some adequate constitutional provision had been made for the imperial succession, it is possible that the relative peace and security of the first two centuries, inaugurated by Augustus, might have continued. Moreover, a stable combination of democratic and imperial rule might have been worked out. Influences were being felt, however, in the third century which prevented any such consummation. The decline of agriculture, diminishing food supply, disappearance of the yeoman class, decline of citizenship, lowering of army standards, growth of city mobs, and general social chaos all combined to provide an unusual opportunity for a man of force and organizing power. At this point Diocletian entered the scene. Oriental despotism was the medium through which he carried out his scheme of imperial rule. Professor Breasted is very insistent upon the influence exerted by the oriental type of monarchy on the Roman form of imperial control. At first the suggestion came, he says (§ 981), from the position of Augustus as King of Egypt. In the days of Diocletian, the Sassanian kings of New Persia were models for the Roman Emperor (§ 1099). Whether this is the explanation of Diocletian's position, or whether it was rather the original tribunician power and the plebeian machinery out of which grew the imperial authority¹⁴, the results are the same. Doubtless, both played a part. For the present purpose, we are interested in Diocletian as one of the great Roman adventurers who altered the direction of national affairs.

The career of Constantine will serve as a final illustration from Roman history of the same phenomenon. For almost three hundred years the extension of Chris-

¹¹See also W. Warde Fowler, *Rome*, 77 (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1912).

¹²H. F. Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, 36-39 (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1909).

¹³58-59.

¹⁴Pelham, 57, 66.

tianity had been steady and confident. Its proportions as a Roman-wide religion made it one to be reckoned with. Christianity became the State religion, and, as such, a source of political power to the Emperor. In connection with this, the latest phase of Roman organizing skill, it should be recalled that a civil organization became the model for an ecclesiastical body, and that, later, the Catholic Church preserved in its hierarchy the results of Roman genius in the sphere of political control.

So far as legal development is concerned, it is hardly necessary to go into details. It will suffice to mention the three landmarks in the history of Roman law—the Code due to Julius Caesar and to Augustus the Theodosian Code, and the Justinian Code. The origin of the early Roman code, the Twelve Tables, has already been explained as a concession to the people in return for military service, and as a recognition of the increasing prominence of the plebeian class. The reforms of Julius Caesar and Augustus Caesar, necessitated by the expansion of a City-State into a world power, were important instruments in the building up of provincial support. Theodosius made Christianity the only legal religion, thereby adding to its political influence the prestige of the courts. Finally, Justinian, by means of his Digest, created a judicial unity for the Roman power, when her Emperors were no longer able to restore her political supremacy.

It might be profitable, did space permit, to trace the group and class struggles in the ancient world, in order to complete the theory of history which Professor Giddings presents, for the material may be considered from the group point of view, instead of from that of the adventurer. Surely a further study would only corroborate in a more emphatic way what is obvious even in this very general survey—that Professor Giddings's theory of history offers a reasonable and convincing explanation of the diversity of civilization in the early world. Furthermore, Dr. Breasted's clear and logical presentation of the facts is most happily consistent with the thesis that "human history is a psychological, or behavioristic, equilibration" (Giddings, *Studies*, 67).

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RUTH E. MESSENGER

REVIEWS

Life in Ancient Britain: A Survey of the Social and Economic Development of the People of England from Earliest Times to the Roman Conquest. By Norman Ault. London and New York: Longmans, Green and Company (1920). Pp. xiv + 260. 50 Figures.

Mr. Ault's purpose, in his book, *Life in Ancient Britain*, is to present an up-to-date survey of the whole field of social and economic life in Ancient Britain.

Its contents are as follows:

Part I, Civilization in the Paleolithic Age, I. Man Before the Old Stone Age (3-11), II. The Ancient Hunters (12-22), III. The Cave Dwellers (23-44); Part II, Civilization in the Neolithic Age, IV. The

Step Between (47-55), V. Discoveries and Inventions (56-73), VI. Primitive Economics (74-86), VII. Social Beginnings (87-108); Part III, Civilization in the Bronze Age, VIII. The Coming of Metal (111-121), IX. Economic Developments (122-136), X. Individual and Family Life (137-150), XI. Social Progress (151-168); Part IV, Civilization in the Early Iron Age, XII. Invasion and Transition (171-181), XIII. Economic Expansion (182-197), XIV. Money—Its Use and Its Effects (198-209), XV. Home Life (210-227), XVI. Social Attainment (228-244); Index (245-260).

Many of the "Figures" represent several objects, sometimes as many as eight. In the Preface (ix) appears the statement that "at least twenty of the antiquities which appear in the illustrations to the text have never been before depicted. . ."

Teachers of the Classics, and of course more especially teachers of Caesar, will be glad to know of this book, and to study it side by side with Chapters I-V of T. Rice Holmes's *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar, 1-300* (Oxford University Press, 1907). Mr. Ault does not refer to this work of Mr. Holmes; indeed, he cites no authority, so far as I notice, save Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* (cited in fifteen places).

On pages 172-175, Mr. Ault begins by declaring that it is agreed that

... the speech of Neolithic man in Britain and western Europe . . . was, in fact, pre-Aryan. Further, it is agreed that for some time previous to the invasion of Julius Caesar two distinct dialects of Keltic—an Indo-European language—were here or there spoken in these islands; and, lastly, that this linguistic change was the result of an invasion, or invasions, of Keltic-speaking tribes from Gaul.

The older of these Keltic dialects, Mr. Ault thinks, which to-day comprises Gaelic, Manx, and Irish, was introduced from Gaul by invading tribes of Goidels, in the latter part of the Bronze Age, about 800-700 B. C. (172). The later Keltic dialect, still spoken in Wales, was introduced by an invasion which began probably about 400 B. C. (173). The people involved in this invasion came from Gaul; they are known as the Brythons, and from them Britain takes its name (173). About 200 B. C. tribes of the Belgae came from Gaul (compare *De Bello Gallico* 5.12.2). Mr. Ault regards the Belgae as "a mixed race of Brythonic-speaking tribes with a strong Teutonic infusion"; they occupied only the country lying south of the Thames and its estuary. The movements represented by these invasions were completed by the recurrent invasions of the Angles, the Saxons, and the Danes (174).

The classical teacher will find much to interest him in various connections: e. g. the account of the part played by tin in the history of Britain (195-196), the discussion of houses (216-217), in which occurs the statement that "in Roman Britain the houses of the well-to-do were, both in plan and arrangement, utterly unlike the characteristic Roman house, even while they conformed to the prevailing Roman fashions as regards such internal conveniences as hypocausts, baths, and mosaic floors", the account of the coins of Britain (243), and that of trade between Gaul and

Britain prior to the Roman invasion under Caesar (196-197).

A very interesting passage is to be found on pages 196-197:

More light on the extent and volume of the foreign trade in Britain, previous to Caesar's invasion, is derived from other sources <i. e. sources other Pytheas and Caesar>. A small amount of the seaborne traffic at this time was probably carried on in British ships; but there is no doubt that the greater part of it was in the hands of a Gaulish tribe, called the Veneti, then occupying the Morbihan district of Brittany. Caesar himself remarked <B. G. 3.8.1> that they "have a great many ships, in which they are wont to sail to Britain"—obviously not on pleasure trips. And it was these people who, fearful that Caesar's projected invasion of Britain would utterly ruin this trade, actually brought about a combination of the various tribes in the north-western and northern regions of Gaul, and with them made war on Caesar with the single idea of preventing it. They failed in their endeavour, for Caesar destroyed practically the whole of their shipping. In spite of this, however, British commerce during the ensuing years flourished exceedingly; and, probably with an increasing percentage of British ships, closer and more extensive trade relations with the continent were established. So much so, indeed, that the Romans, about 26 B. C., relinquished for the time being the long-contemplated conquest of Britain, on the grounds that the probable tribute they could exact would not be nearly as productive as already were the duties paid at the different ports of Gaul on the imports and exports of this country.

Again it is Strabo who furnishes us with certain particulars regarding British commerce in the early years of our era; and thus we gather that this country was by that time exporting corn, cattle, hides, gold, silver, iron, slaves, and flogs; while its imports comprised ivory, gold necklaces, vessels of glass, and amber. And we have only to think back to the beginnings of our foreign trade in the Bronze Age to realise the full import of such a development. Small wonder, then, if another thirty years of like progress caused the Romans again to turn their eyes towards this remote northern island; or if such industrial and commercial attainment made it at last well worth their while to bring these "barbarians" within the pale of the Empire. . . .

The concluding paragraphs of the book run as follows (242-244):

We must not, however, conclude our survey with the impression that the conquest¹ suddenly overwhelmed a civilisation that was wholly and solely British. It neither marked the beginning of Roman influences here, nor the end of native traditions. We have seen that something like a hundred years of ever-increasing intercourse and trade between this country and Romanized Gaul had preceded the conquest; and this had resulted in a considerable diffusion of Roman ideas and culture in south-eastern Britain before any Roman had settled there. On the other hand, after the conquest, besides the perpetuation of certain native institutions already mentioned, many other Late Celtic elements, lying outside our purview, persisted for centuries side by side with the new culture. Thus the Romanisation of Britain—never, in fact, completed—was a long and gradual process which may be said to have begun with Caesar's abortive invasions.

The evidences for this are many and varied, among which we may briefly note that Latin words began to appear on our native coins very early; then Roman divinities were figured on them, and British princes styled themselves *Rex*; then our coins began to imi-

tate those of Rome, and, lastly, the Roman coins themselves crept into the currency and circulated in the south. Such things as the dice and the exotic arts of the toilet point to the same conclusion; as also do the water-clocks which now began to be used in the southern districts. This instrument, in all probability like that used by Caesar to measure the nights in Britain, was a bronze bowl perforated with a tiny hole, which, when the bowl was floated in a larger vessel of water, caused it to fill slowly and sink within a certain space of time, after which it was raised, emptied and floated again—thus requiring the same amount of attention as the old-time hour-glass. Further, it seems that Latin, long the language of the mint, began to be written and spoken here and there in this country; and some authorities insist that it had become the language of the court before the close of this period. . . .

To everyone interested in the history of modern English and American civilization this book ought to be of interest throughout. It is therefore unfortunate that it is not documented by references to other modern authorities.

CHARLES KNAPP

The Use of Myths to Create Suspense in Extant Greek Tragedy. By William W. Flint, Jr. Privately printed (1922, or 1923). Pp. 87.

The title of Dr. Flint's dissertation (Princeton) might, perhaps, be restated more lucidly thus: The Creation of Suspense in Extant Greek Tragedy by Means of Variation in the Myth. Modern admirers and students of the extant Greek plays have quite generally inherited the notion that the ancient writers of tragedy were hopelessly limited in material and subject. That they were limited is true; and this was because of the ceremonial associations with which Greek tragedies were produced, and because of the fact that it lay rather with comedy to choose characters and plots from life and human action, and thus to hold the mirror up to nature. Tragedy in its best and earliest days had a more serious problem—to show by varying treatment that certain moral conflicts had a dramatic way of working themselves out. Literature and tradition had made the ordinary Greek of the fifth century B. C. very well acquainted with just what deep issues well nigh every myth was connected. He knew in a general way what to expect the moment he saw the characters and heard the opening lines of any play. What interested him, therefore, was to discover, as the play or the trilogy proceeded, what he was to expect in spite of or in addition to what he was trained to expect. This put him in a state of anticipation plus suspense, and he sat wondering whether, with the beauty of lines and strophes and costumes and character, he was only to be pleased in witnessing an action that was after all only a familiar episode from legend. We see him in a state of suspense and surprise for another reason. He thought he knew what the whole play was about. He sees its beauty, and this pleases him; but the plot now rouses his interest, for there are decided novelties and decidedly complicated inventions by the playwright that seem to conflict with the old myth, and he asks himself how the thing is to end.

As Dr. Flint shows, the poet was at liberty to employ

¹Mr. Ault holds that the Roman conquest of Britain began in 43 A.D.

variants in the psychology of his plots; for they are to be found in the artistic elaborations of earlier poets within the recollection of the spectator, or proceed from conflicting local versions of the same myth. "And where the received story was filled with contradictions which the audience knew, who could be certain what dramatic conclusion would be used to square all the facts?" Euripides could indeed start from a vague version of a myth and develop with perfect logic a treatment for which there was no precedent. Compare his Helen in this regard.

The plays are reviewed by Dr. Flint according to the locality to which their stories belong: I. Stories of the Trojan War (7-18); II. The Return of the Greeks from Troy (18-45); III. The Theban Stories (45-65); IV. Athenian Legends (65-72); V. Legends of Heracles (72-77); VI. Miscellaneous (78-84). There is also a Summary (84-87).

The Neo-Socratics were quite as bad as the poets and the philosophers of the fifth century B. C. in 'dickering' with the legends of mythology. One ought to read Dio of Prusa, especially his Nessus or his Chryseis, and see with what meticulous medieval scholasticism students of legend like him played about human motives and probabilities in conduct. The trick began with Socrates himself. One who speaks for Dio says, in his Nessus,

'... And I do not know how it is, but somehow the ways of some poets and philosophers in their reasonings seem to me to resemble the ways of image-makers. They get themselves some certain master pattern, and every bit of clay they put into it they conform to their one pattern. So our poets, no matter what story they get hold of, can make it fit for sober study, by pulling it here and reshaping it there according to their own fancy'.

WILLIAM E. WATERS

A MEDICAL CORRECTION

Quotations from memory are treacherous. J. F. Payne, M. D., in J. E. Sandys, *A Companion to Latin Studies*, 718 (1921), and Mr. Charles Singer, in *The Legacy of Rome*, 282 (1923), both quote the triadic therapeutic maxim of Asclepiades in the following form: *Cito, tuto, iucunde*. In another great authority, T. Clifford Allbutt, *Greek Medicine in Rome*, 184 (1921), it appears as *Cito, tuto, et iucunde*. Yet Celsus, *De Medicina* 3.4 (edition of Daremberg [1891], page 78), has: *Asclepiades officium esse medici dicit, ut tuto, ut celeriter, ut iucunde curet*. By Asclepiades, then, the emphasis is placed upon *tuto*, 'safety first', and not on speed. Celsus himself points out the danger of too much *festinatio* and too much *voluptas*.

Another matter, of possible interest to some, may be mentioned. Galen quotes with approval the maxim of Hippocrates: 'The cure depends upon three factors, the sick man, his sickness, and the physician', and he suggests this as a suitable topic of conversation for the sick-room. Galen also has a triad for the doctor: 'A doctor should be affable, sensible, and dignified'. See further, Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners*, I.

174 (English translation of Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte des Roms*. For this work see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 3.52-53, 62, 198-199, 7.47). COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK EMORY B. LEASE

THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND, EASTERN MASSACHUSETTS SECTION CLASSICAL CLUB OF GREATER BOSTON

A joint meeting of the Eastern Massachusetts Section of The Classical Association of New England and the Classical Club of Greater Boston was held at Harvard University, on Saturday, February 9. The audience was large, and the program, which was of unusual interest, was as follows: A Word of Welcome, Mr. Frederick A. Tupper, President of the Section; The Results of Neglect of the Classics on College Work in the Modern Languages, Professor Charles E. Fay, Tufts College; Italy of To-Day, Professor Charles H. Forbes, Phillips Andover Academy; What Should We Do About Greek?, Dr. Josiah Bridge, Ethel Walker School, Simsbury, Connecticut; Lantern Talk: Casual Observations at the First Cataract, Professor Alice Walton, Wellesley College; Lantern Talk: Recent Work on the Acropolis at Athens, Professor George H. Chase, Harvard University.

Professor Fay discussed the subject of the Modern Languages from the viewpoint of the Classics, and showed that the recent decline in interest and effectiveness in these studies ran parallel with the falling off in the Classics.

Dr. Bridge's paper called forth an animated discussion on the subject of Greek. But, on account of the crowded condition of the Secondary School curriculum, no one was able to propose an effective remedy. Professor Cameron also made a brief announcement of the interesting work of the Reading Section of the Classical Club, which meets in the Classical Library of Boston University.

ALBERT S. PERKINS, *Censor*

American Historical Association, *Annual Report, 1919* (published in 1923), 1.225-304—Roman Policy in Armenia and Transcaucasia and its Significance, David Magie.

California Law Review—July, Greek Law and Modern Jurisprudence, George M. Calhoun.

Education—June, The Value of the Classics, Stephen G. Rich ["for the most part the classics have no values in education that are not shared by other subjects, and shared to an equal degree"].

Journal of Education and School World (London)—July, 1923, Reform Methods of Latin Teaching, F. Jones [describes the methods advocated by the Association for the Reform of Latin Teaching, England: virtually the Direct Method].

Junto (Student Literary Quarterly, University of Pennsylvania) Dec., 1923, Sophocles, W. W. Hyde.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Bulletin of*—Jan., The Daily Life of the Greeks and Romans, Helen McClees [a brief account of five cases of objects illustrating the daily life of the Greeks and the Romans; illustrated] A Neo-Attic Marble Vase, Gisela M. A. Richter [an "acquisition of great importance", of the first century B.C.; illustrated].—Feb., Greek and Roman Jewelry, Recent Accessions, Gisela M. A. Richter [illustrated].